# The New REPUBLIC

## A Journal of Opinion

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THE facts first, of course, in regard to the explosion on the Sussex and other boats, if the facts are to be obtained. But short of a direct admission from Berlin, the facts may be exceedingly difficult to obtain. There will be a party which believes that the explosion was due to a mine, and within that party there will be no certainty whether the mine was sown by the Germans or was one of the British mines loosed from its moorings. Floating mines are more anonymous than submarines, and constitute the final barbarism of warfare at sea. They respect absolutely nothing, yet it is almost impossible to fix responsibility for them. If the seas are now infested with drifting mines as the China seas were after the Russo-Japanese war, it is hard to see what effective action our government can take. There is here one of the problems which will require international regulation after the war. While the war lasts we must probably expect a series of accidents for which it will be practically impossible to call anyone to account. But if it is proved that the Sussex or the Englishman were attacked by torpedoes, the policy of the United States is clear and the need for action obvious.

A DISAVOWAL from Germany will not be sufficient. What the case shows is that even with good intentions on the part of the civil authorities submarine warfare cannot be conducted with regard to the safety of the noncombatant. Assuming that the Sussex was attacked, assuming that the attack was an accident, it was an intolerable accident which proves that the submarine is a weapon that cannot be used safely against merchant ships. The incident occurred in broad daylight on a calm sea. The Sussex was an unarmed and altogether inoffensive passenger ship. If accidents happen even under these conditions, then the time has come to outlaw the submarine as a commerce raider. It seems to us that Mr. Wilson's policy ought to be to call on Germany for a total abandonment of submarine warfare against merchant ships, under the penalty of a break with the United States and a threat of organized assistance to the Allies. Mr. Wilson cannot accept a disavowal, and if he brings about a rupture we hope he will do so on a broad principle. He might say in effect: "The experience of the last year proves the impossibility of the submarine. We shall not tolerate a succession of accidents followed by expressions of regret. You have had your chance to show that the submarine can be used humanely. You have failed. Abandon it altogether as a weapon against commerce or we shall throw our weight to the side of organized sea power."

ARMOR-plate concerns pleading on their knees for the right to live and reform present a spectacle altogether new in the history of private money-making from public need. If the House will refrain from passing the Senate bill for the establishment of armor-plate works, the Bethlehem Steel Company will furnish one-third, or more if desired, of the armor plate required for the contemplated five-year program at $395 a ton—a price decidedly lower than the company has charged the government at any time in the last ten years. Or if Congress suspects that this price is still too high, the


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company will permit certified public accountants to make estimates of the cost of producing plate, and on the basis of such estimates offer terms that will commend themselves to the Secretary of the Navy as being quite as low as the price at which the government could manufacture plate. Drop the designs against our lives, and we will refrain from extortion for a space of five years.

IT is an economic absurdity that when we already have private plants capable of furnishing all the armor plate we need, we should still be forced to proceed to the erection of a public plant. There could be no clearer case of competitive waste. We grow eloquent over the waste entailed by the competitive paralleling of railways, by the duplication of manufacturing or commercial capacity. But in all such cases a modicum of additional utility is created. The eleven millions to be invested in a public armor-plate plant will add nothing whatsoever to the national wealth; private capital will be diminished in the precise measure that the public capital is increased. But this particular form of private capital throughout the world has a black record. Everywhere it has sought to coin money out of bitter national need, and frequently it has helped to create the need in order to coin money. If the principle could be established once for all that armor plate and other munitions of war should be furnished patriotically, at cost inclusive of a fair return on capital, there would be no reason for governmental manufacture. Let the existing armor-plate plants announce their readiness to accept such a principle, not only in filling contracts under the contemplated five-year program, but in all future dealings with the government; the project of a government plant could then safely be dropped. We should then no longer be confronted by the alternatives of extortion or waste of capital.

THE State Department announced recently its intention of preparing and sending to American diplomatic representatives abroad a general statement of its position in relation to the questions of sea law which are now subjects of international controversy. The decision to utter such a statement should, we believe, be reconsidered. Marine law is not at the present time in a condition to be either authoritatively or profitably expounded. It is changing rapidly and radically. Nobody can tell with any certainty how many of these changes will be accepted after the war and how many will be rejected. Nobody can tell how they will affect the interests of the United States, or what policy the American Government will decide to adopt towards them. In fact, it is of much greater importance for American international lawyers to agree upon what our policy ought to be than upon what the law is or appears to be. Under such conditions silence is gold and utterance is silver or something worse. Authoritative expositions of a fluid body of law are likely to prove embarrassing hereafter. The State Department should shun rather than seek opportunities to register in irretrievable documents what can at best be plausible guesses about dubious rules.

EFFECTIVE opposition in Congress to a larger military and naval establishment has collapsed. The Hay Army bill was finally passed by the House with but two dissenting votes, of which only one represented uncompromising disapproval of preparedness. The advocates of a regular army of over two hundred thousand men proved unexpectedly numerous. There is every indication that in the end the existing army will be almost doubled in size instead of being increased by forty per cent. Congress is also likely to provide more ships for the navy than the President demanded. The critical condition in Mexico may have had something to do with this increasing disposition to prepare for war, but it is not a sufficient explanation. Ever since Congress assembled, the popularity of "preparedness" has been growing. The seventy or eighty votes against it which were to be collected in the House from among Mr. Bryan's personal followers faded away. The speeches made by Mr. Wilson during his trip to the Middle West accomplished all that could be expected. Congressmen heard from their districts, and decided, no matter what their personal convictions, that they could not be caught on the unpopular side. Mr. Bryan has become isolated in his own party. He cannot oppose Mr. Wilson, yet he cannot support him without being placed in a humiliating position. A voter who wants to register his disapproval of the policy of preparing for possible war will have to vote the Socialist ticket.

PREPAREDNESS is politically successful, but its advocates should not become too enthusiastic over their victory. Their success is more apparent than real. Although Congress will add a certain number of soldiers and guns to the army and ships to the navy, the majority of its members are in reality opposed to any thorough preparation either for war or peace. They are accepting preparedness in the same spirit that they have accepted in the past so many other plans of national reorganization. Congress and in general the ordinary American party politicians are masters of the art of killing by concessions. As soon as agitation in favor of any costly political innovation or reform becomes urgent, the politicians of both parties yield

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gracefully to the popular demand, knowing full well that their concession in legislation can be nullified by bad administration or else actually converted into a source of professional and local political profit. That is what has happened to almost all the recent attempts at social and political reconstruction both in state and nation. They are vitiated in practise either by crude administrative arrangements or by actual administrative lethargy or disloyalty. So it will be with military preparedness. Congress will authorize additions to the regular army without providing any sufficient inducements to recruit the new soldiers. It will arrange for a reserve of state militia which will be of great political but of doubtful military benefit. It will appropriate without regret hundreds of millions for new regiments and battleships, but it will not touch the prolific sources of congressional military and naval graft. This is the profoundly and perennially discouraging aspect of American politics. Americans fight a series of battles over candidates and policies; they celebrate their victories and mourn over their defeats; but they never sufficiently realize that the battles are shams and that the real and the only victors are the local politicians of both parties.

PRESIDENT WILSON would hardly consider himself justified in issuing a warning "that there are persons all along the border who are actively engaged in giving as wide currency as they can to rumors of the most sensational and disturbing sort" with the obvious object "of bringing about intervention in the interest of certain American owners of Mexican properties," unless he had more definite proof of the fact than serves as basis for the ugly suspicions now current among private citizens. Probably the President knows, for example, who it was that set afloat the false rumors that Herrera had joined Villa. Such acts are, in morals and perhaps in law, crimes of a grave order, and it is to be hoped that the President will not limit his action to the publication of warnings to newspaper readers. The public has a right to know who the persons are that are engaged in a conspiracy to bring about war between two friendly nations. It has a right to know what property interests are demanding a national sacrifice of such magnitude. If this work of disclosure falls beyond the province of the Department of Justice, at any rate it would lie within the power and capacity of a congressional investigating commission.

SIMILIA similibus curantur; counter poison with poison; fight the Devil with fire. These are some of the sound and venerable maxims that crowd upon the mind as Mr. Hearst announces that his papers will conduct a crusade against brutality—just now, the brutality of the prize fight. The Willard-Moran bout was a bestial, sickening affair, enough to turn the strongest stomach. One wonders, however, if there is not an element of disappointment in Mr. Hearst's present aversion. Willard didn't knock his opponent out: he was too humane in the punishment he administered. As Mr. Hearst's own Right Cross remarks, "as a sporting event" the fight was a "crass failure." "Willard, therefore, in all seriousness is a failure as a champion. He is considered too kindly of heart. He is too human." One is reminded of the outraged Milwaukeean who announced his conversion to prohibition. What he wanted to prohibit was not beer, but foam.

EVER since President Taft mobilized the army on the Mexican border, it has been evident that an expedition into Mexico might at any time become necessary. It has also been recognized that campaigning in northern Mexico would present peculiar difficulties, and that much would depend upon prompt and sure location of bodies of the enemy in the deserts and cañons of that forbidding country. For this work modern science had provided an extraordinarily effective arm in the aeroplane. Everyone knew that aviators would encounter exceptionally adverse conditions for flying in the rarified air, subject to gusty draughts from the high mountain valleys, with few practicable landing places in the regions where their services would be most needed. What the situation demanded was a large corps of aviators, with high-power machines and the most reliable motors known to engineering. Now the test has come—what showing do we make? We find ourselves possessed of six aeroplanes, small and low-powered, incapable of rising over the mountain barriers, or of carrying sufficient fuel and food to insure the safe return of the aviators after a scouting expedition. Of the six aeroplanes, four are already out of commission, and the chances are that before Villa is caught the whole army air service will be extinct. A practical people we are indeed.

TO sweeten a name is more noble than to change it; but the sweetening process takes time, and time is money. This in effect is the reply of the practical men to the worshippers of historical continuity, in New York and out of it, who are protesting so bitterly against changing the name of the Bowery. As a physical fact, the old Bowery of the later nineteenth century is extinct. The gaiety and license, the melodramatic criminality, the political dexterity of the Bowery have passed into the shades of backwoods moralizing and campaign oratory.

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Even the vaudeville circuits know the Bowery no more. All that remains is an indefinable popular aversion, as toward a person once wicked and entrancing, but now wrinkled and reformed. It is merely a matter of sentiment, but it makes a practical difference of ten cents a square foot in rental values. Cooper Street, Hewitt Street, or Gaynor Street might at first seem merely an alias, but memories in New York are short and easily deflected. Who now recalls the original virtuous purpose of Tammany Hall?

HISTORICAL analogies are said to be misleading; most of them, however, are worth at least a moment's reflection. At the close of the Revolutionary War the people of the American states were intensely embittered against England, and inspired with deep enthusiasm for France. French statesmen had long enviously regarded the American colonies as markets from which British colonial policy had excluded French merchants. They were therefore confident that French goods would replace British in the territory they had helped to free. Indeed, this was one of the practical arguments advanced by Americans for French intervention. But within two years, the British merchant had reassumed control of the American import trade. The British furnished the goods America wanted, on credit terms to which the Americans were accustomed. Just now there is much talk of the supplanting of German trade in Russia by British, French and even American. Russian sentiment doubtless favors the change. But if history teaches any lesson, it is that sentiment is a fugitive basis for commercial relations.

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# A Catechism for Presidential Candidates

A. *American policy during the war.*

1. Have you been in favor of an embargo on munitions?
2. Would you have exerted greater pressure upon Great Britain to compel her to reform the so-called blockade?
3. Would you have sent the "strict accountability" note to Germany? If not, what would you have done? If yes, would you have been in favor of any action to secure guaranties from Germany during the time between the war-zone proclamation and the sinking of the Lusitania?
4. If you were in favor of such action did you say so at the time, and when?
5. Would you have broken off diplomatic relations after the sinking of the Lusitania?
6. Would you have used any measure of reprisal, or would you have declared war?
7. If not, has there been any incident since the Lusitania which in your opinion required the rupture of relations or a declaration of war?
8. Do you think that the United States was under a moral obligation to protest at the violation of Belgium?
9. If you do, when did you first begin to think so, and what was your first public utterance on the question?
10. Do you think that the United States should have taken any action in regard to the violation of the Hague conventions in such matters as the bombardment of undefended towns? If so, what action, and when did you make your first public utterance in regard to it?

B. *American foreign policy.*

1. Do you believe it will be necessary for the United States in the near future to come to a definite understanding with some European Power? If so, with which Power?
2. Do you approve of the President's Pan-American policy, which provides for a guaranty of territorial integrity under a republican form of government in all the states of this hemisphere?
3. Do you think the United States has or can expect to have sufficient military force to undertake this responsibility alone?
4. Have you agreed in general with the President's Mexican policy? If not, would you have recognized Huerta?
5. Would you have intervened at any time since the fall of Huerta? At what time would you have intervened?
6. Are you in favor of the Haitian protectorate?
7. Are you in favor of the Nicaraguan treaty?
8. Are you in favor of the original Colombian treaty?
9. Do you favor the abandonment of the Philippines? If so, under what conditions?
10. Do you think the United States ought to take any action to preserve the integrity of China?

C. *Preparedness.*

1. On what standard do you base your estimate of the navy which the United States ought to have? That is, what considerations ought to determine our naval policy in respect to Great Britain, Germany and Japan?

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2. Do you favor universal military service?
3. Do you favor an increase of the standing army? If so, by what standard do you estimate the size needed?
4. Do you believe in the "federalization" of the militia?
5. Do you favor the creation of a national council of defense to coördinate all forms of naval and military preparedness?
6. Do you favor the government manufacture of certain essential munitions of war?
7. Are you prepared to abolish useless navy yards and army posts, and to undertake the radical reorganization of the administrative control of national armaments?
8. How would you pay for preparedness? Would you issue bonds, lay excise duties, or protective duties, or increase income taxes and establish a federal inheritance tax?
9. Do you believe that the government should control and regulate foreign trade and investment so as to define its responsibilities in regard to the protection of them? If so, what form would this organization and control take?

D. *Domestic policy.*

1. Do you favor further restriction of immigration? If so, what form should the restriction take?
2. Are you in favor of a general revision of the tariff by the next Congress?
3. Do you favor a tariff board?
4. Do you favor the nationalization of railroads?
5. Do you favor increased administrative control of business or a more rigorous enforcement of the Sherman act and the Clayton act?
6. Are you in favor of the Shields Water Power bill?
7. Do you believe in the principle that protection should be withdrawn from an industry which does not pay a living wage to its workmen?
8. Do you think steps should be taken towards a national control of education?
9. Do you favor the principle of social insurance against sickness, accident, old age, maternity and unemployment?
10. Are you in favor of a national system of labor exchanges?
11. Do you believe in the principle of minimum wage for sweated industries?
12. Do you believe in the federal regulation of child labor?
13. Do you believe in the establishment of a permanent industrial commission to inquire into all important labor disturbances?
14. Do you believe there are any steps the federal government can take to give labor a greater representation in the management of industry?
15. Do you favor federal incorporation?
16. Do you believe that the fixing of wages on common carriers should be added to the rate-making power of the national government?
17. Do you favor government-owned ocean shipping, or a policy of shipping subsidies?
18. Are you in favor of the adoption by Congress of a budget system? If so, should it be prepared by the administration or by Congress? Should Congress be allowed to increase the items in a budget prepared by the administration?
19. Are you in favor of making the higher federal administrative officials, such as postmasters, internal revenue officers and the like, permanent appointees?
20. Do you approve of permitting individual senators to veto presidential appointments?
21. Do you believe in equal suffrage? Are you in favor of a constitutional amendment as the means of obtaining it?

## How to Free the Seas

ON another page appears a letter from Mr. Harold Stearns, which contains an able criticism of the attempt to associate the freedom of the seas with the exercise of naval control over commerce. This letter goes to the root of pending controversies of the United States both with Germany and Great Britain. Our correspondent recognizes the fact that in contending for maritime freedom the American people are confronted ultimately by two and only two alternatives. The United States will have to choose between two hostile systems of marine law. The first is the German system, which insists on the abandonment of all interference with commerce during war and the establishment in law of the right of non-fighting nations to trade to any extent with all the belligerents. The other is the English system, which asserts that control over commerce during war, even if necessary to the extent of prohibition, is desirable in the ultimate interest of maritime freedom itself.

Mr. Stearns prefers the first of these alternatives. He wants commerce to be as safe from interference on the seas during war as it is during peace. The

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proposal wears an attractive air of international equity and has long been advocated by legal reformers. But it involves obvious disadvantages and even certain grave dangers. It establishes a system of international commercial laissez-faire, which would permit all belligerents access to the markets of the world and absolve neutrals from any formal responsibility for the use to which they put their commercial resources. The system of marine law would not recognize any distinction among belligerents, and the Napoleons or the Germans of the future could count on the assistance of the peaceful industrial nations in the realization of their aggressive designs.

Mr. Stearns answers this objection by asserting that the neutral who was reluctant to assist in the creation of a Napoleonic empire could indicate his disapproval by refusing to trade with the existing incarnation of militarism. But an embargo placed by a scrupulous neutral against exports to a culpable belligerent, while it might at times constitute the only available method of protest, would be no more effective in promoting international equity than the refusal by a couple of consumers to deal at a certain store would be to force the management of that store to pay a living wage to all its employees. The conscientious consumer would be absolved from personal responsibility, but his method of protest would not serve to abate the evil. His action would imply the need of a system of control over business making it impossible for employers to pay their employees less than a living wage. A neutral who refused to trade with a future violator of Belgium would be trying in an analogous way to promote international wellbeing by wholly insufficient national means; while at the same time he would be exposing himself to costly and possibly dangerous retaliation from the culpable belligerent.

The ordinary neutral would neither care nor dare to assume all the responsibility of condemning and discriminating against a culpable belligerent. International controversies rarely involve a clear case of national turpitude. There would be something arbitrary and invidious about the attempt of any one nation to pass a sentence of commercial excommunication upon a culpable belligerent. The condemnation would be attributed to interest and favoritism rather than to a disinterested desire to promote international welfare. In order to provide against such a retort the verdict against a culpable belligerent would need to be sustained by a number of disinterested neutrals; and it would have to be made authoritative by a rule or by a system of rules whose adequacy and relevancy had been accepted in advance. The best example of such a rule is the one proposed by the League to Enforce Peace, which defines culpable national aggression not in terms of the moving national policies, but in terms of a violent and inconsiderate method of realizing them. A nation would be condemned not for its ambitions but only for an attempt to realize them without having tried and exhausted the inoffensive methods of conciliation and arbitration. Unless the authority of such a rule is recognized and a sufficient number of states stand ready to enforce it, neutral nations would usually have no alternative but to act under their legal rights to trade with all belligerents; and if those legal rights were as comprehensive and unrestricted as Mr. Stearns thinks they ought to be, the culpable belligerent could count upon the commercial and industrial assistance of neutral trading nations in pursuing a policy which might be destructive of the very foundations of international security.

If, consequently, Mr. Stearns's method whereby a neutral can escape from becoming the accomplice of an aggressive belligerent is worked out, it implies the need of a system of commercial control rather than of commercial laissez-faire. We agree that the present system of control is fundamentally defective because it converts the neutral trader into the accomplice of the belligerent who controls the seas without affording any assurance that the dominant sea power is not being used for selfish national purposes. But the way to cure the defects in the existing system of marine law and marine control is not to abandon all control in favor of irresponsible freedom but to seek some better assurance that the power over commerce will not be abused. And a satisfactory guaranty against the abuse of sea power can be brought about only as a result of its internationalization. THE NEW REPUBLIC has been advocating an understanding between the United States and Great Britain as one essential condition of ultimate international maritime control.

Maritime freedom cannot, we believe, be secured except as the child of an authoritative maritime order. It is not land power which will bring freedom to the seas; it is sea power which will bring freedom to the land. Even at its worst, " navalism " is less dangerous to the world than militarism. At its best it is not only an effective but an indispensable agent of an international community. The really dangerous obstacle to the formation of such a community consists in aggressive militarism which threatens the security of neighboring countries. Such militarism must be fought and eradicated. But it is fatal to fight militarism merely with militarism; and " navalism " cannot fight militarism effectually except with the weapon of commerce destruction. Such is the meaning of the British Orders in Council and the justification for them. They are carrying belligerent interference with neutral commerce

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further than it has ever been carried before—so far that neutrals cannot consent to such a considerable extension of the power of control without being insured and re-insured against its possible abuse. But the English are justified in asserting the necessity of legal interference with commerce between belligerents and neutrals; and in so far as the commerce-destroying submarine is intended to undermine the foundations of the effective regulation of commerce during war, they are justified in attempting to put it outside the law.

In the final adjustment of these difficult controversies the neutral trading nations will have the decisive voice. Assuming, as is inevitable, that enormous improvements will be made in the speed and range of submersible boats, Great Britain cannot in all probability keep the commerce-destroying submarine out of the waters by means of naval armament. In order to outlaw it, as well as to secure recognition of her development of the right to interfere with the commerce of her enemies, she will need neutral coöperation; and such neutral cooperation should not and probably will not be granted unless sea power is internationalized and used as the instrument and weapon of an incontestably international policy. In the past and at present neutral trading nations have been in part the reluctant victims and in part the willing accomplices of the power which controlled the sea. They will not continue to submit forever to the operation of this unpleasant alternative. If they must have their trade with a belligerent prevented they will want some assurance that the belligerent with whom their commerce is cut off is a public and not merely a private enemy. If they are asked to add their industrial resources to the fighting power of another belligerent, they will want some guaranty that their assistance is being rendered to a good cause. But whenever such guaranties are obtained and when one belligerent has deserved condemnation by a violator of the international code, they should be willing to assist in cutting the offender off from all commercial relations with the outside world. In case both belligerents have similarly offended, both should be ostracized. In case neither has offended there need be no interruption of commercial intercourse, but cases of this kind are under the given circumstances scarcely conceivable. In the event of an international dispute both contestants would have so much to gain from obeying the international code, that they would scarcely go to war until they had manoeuvered their opponent into an untenable position. Neutrals would have so much to say about questions of peace and war that a war could hardly take place in spite of their disapproval.

The one chance of this desirable consummation depends upon coöperation among the nations which unite economic with naval strength. Economic strength alone is insufficient, because nations if unarmed might be coerced; naval strength alone is insufficient because it needs for the authoritative exercise of such an enormous power the support which can be supplied only by free neutral consent. The proposed coöperation would of course be made impossible should the United States and the other neutrals adhere to the German conception of the freedom of the seas advocated by Mr. Stearns. Pacifism would, as a consequence, be deprived of its chief aggressive weapon against militarism; international commerce would be made exclusively subservient to the selfish purposes of individual traders; and the sea, which is the proper highway and the only existing territory of the promised super-nation, would cease to exercise its beneficent pressure on the jealous nationalism of the land. The proposed combination of economic and naval strength is still far from achievement; but those who are seeking to prevent war should labor to bring it into existence, and they should never consent either to the divorce between commerce and sea power, or to the alliance between commerce and land power, which is what the Germans have been trying to bring about under the specious appearance of giving freedom to the seas.

## The Question of State Police

IN the matter of rural policing we are in the Dark Ages, or beyond. Our local institutions for detecting crime and apprehending criminals are about in the same stage of development as under the Angevin kings of England. Elective sheriffs or constables, serving for short periods and chosen for office not on account of valor or capacity for organization, but on account of business standing or personal popularity, represent the nearest approach we have to a professional branch. In emergency, there are the additional resources of the posse—usually a reluctant and cumbersome civil force—and of special deputies, most frequently useless, occasionally highly mischievous. And while the rural police system has remained stationary or has even retrograded, great progress has been made in the art and equipment of the criminal. Considerable talent has been applied to the analysis of loot-yielding opportunities; the urban rendezvous represents a clearing house for criminal information; organized markets for plunder exist. The railway, and especially the automobile and motorcycle, simplify the criminal's problem of descending upon an unwary community and making good his escape. In the zones lying between the range of urban police and the strictly rural communities, where country homes of the

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well-to-do are becoming increasingly numerous, and where manufacturers are seeking cheap factory sites and abundant space for workingmen's villages, crime may be committed almost with impunity. It was a recognition of this state of affairs, enforced by a brutal crime for which the perpetrators have not yet been brought to justice, that led to the organization of the present movement for a state police in New York. A similar movement has made considerable headway in New Jersey, and the question is bound to come up in other states that are becoming industrialized.

What the bill before the New York legislature proposes is a system of state police modeled after the Pennsylvania state constabulary. And this suggests the advantages and disadvantages of the plan. The Pennsylvania constabulary has proved wonderfully efficient in coping with ordinary crimes committed in the rural districts. The 228 men making up that organization in 1913 patrolled 625,000 miles of rural highways, and made 2,463 arrests, of which the vast majority were for common crime. In four-fifths of the cases, conviction followed arrest. Unquestionably rural Pennsylvania is far safer to live in on account of the constabulary. So much for the advantages. The disadvantages of the system appear solely in connection with its application to labor disputes. Rightly or wrongly, the Pennsylvania state constabulary is almost universally accused by labor men of partisanship with the employer in the economic struggle. All the detestation that is elsewhere directed toward the militia organizations that serve on strike duty is in Pennsylvania concentrated upon the constabulary. Let it be granted that the charges against the constabulary published by the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor under the title "The American Cossack," have for the most part proved groundless. The fact remains that the state constabulary are actually regarded, in very wide circles, in the light of Cossacks.

Keeping order in time of strike is one function; the repression of common crime is another, and of the two, the latter absorbs by far the greater part of the energy of the Pennsylvania constabulary, as it would absorb most of the energy of any other body of state police. From the time of its organization in 1905 down to 1914 the Pennsylvania constabulary made 2400 arrests, of which only 530 were for rioting, and of these by no means all were connected with strikes. To forego the invaluable services of a well organized system of rural police merely because of their possible employment to quell strikers appears to be a heavy cost, from whatever point of view.

There is very little reason for believing that a state police, if called upon for strike duty, would go beyond its proper sphere of enforcing the law. Service on the force is a profession, and the enlisted man has too much at stake to run the risks that would attend wanton brutality. The labor opponents of a state police appear to be committing themselves to a preference for law ineffectively enforced. And for this the general community is more to blame than the labor men. For our law is still in a stage in which, if effectively enforced, it works chiefly to the advantage of the employer. It protects his property and business against destruction, but it does not protect the worker in his equally vital claim for a voice in the determination of conditions of employment. A strike, no matter how just the grievances of the men, will be lost if the employer can in perfect security import strike-breakers. The fear of an outraged body of workers, not perfectly controlled by the police or military power, is the chief bar to the development of an extensive profession of strike-breaking.

We need a state police to cope with the problem of rural and suburban crime. If the labor representatives can prevent it, we shall be unable to secure such an institution unless we either separate the ordinary police function from the function of controlling strikes, or revise our labor laws in such a way as to make strike-breaking more difficult than it would be now under effective enforcement of the law. It is unfortunate that thousands of innocent persons, in no way concerned in the struggle between labor and capital, should be deprived of adequate protection to life and property. But labor can not afford to abandon its opposition to a state constabulary without equivalent concessions from the employers, in the way of laws against arbitrary strike-breaking. What sacrifices would the employers be ready to make, for the common good?

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# The War After the War

THE Allies must make, before this month is out, a decision which may shape the whole future of Europe. Their original pact was a pledge which bound them only for the duration of the war. The new tie will link them together in the coming peace, and may convert the trenches which now surround the enemy into permanent Chinese walls. Mr. Bonar Law has told us that the conference which will shortly meet in Paris is to consider not merely the more adroit use of economic weapons during the war, but the adoption after it of a common economic policy. The forecasts in our press are numerous and detailed, and all of them agree in this, that the Allies are discussing what steps they shall take in common to continue during "peace" (we still use the word) the war on German trade. The *Daily News* predicts and even approves a decision to prohibit all German imports for a term of years. It certainly speaks for some members of the Cabinet. The *Times* suggests that the Allies contemplate rather a simple agreement with each other to conclude commercial treaties with Germany after the war only by mutual consent.

Russia made the first public proposals for a prolongation of the present war of trenches and torpedoes into a new war of tariffs and boycotts; France took the initiative in calling the conference; we in England have followed their lead. The result will probably be an elastic decision which reflects the opportunist caution of diplomacy. The military alliance will be completed by a commercial pact, which may be applied as circumstances dictate. Such a pact might be turned to varying uses, an absolute boycott at one extreme, an amiable adjustment of trade at the other, with a system of preferential trading as a middle term. For the moment almost the only tendency which finds decided expression in the Allied countries is the extreme resolve to make the utmost use of economic weapons in the sort of peace which will follow the war, to weaken, or as some would say, to "punish" the enemy. Mr. Runciman, speaking officially for the Coalition, has endorsed this way of thinking, and has twice declared from the Treasury Bench that our aim must be to see that Germany does not after the war "get up her head" as a trading nation. How far this intention can be pressed will depend on the military outcome of the war. A total embargo could be placed on German trade only if she had been deprived by crushing military reverses of all power to protect herself by bargaining against terms so extreme. While she holds as pledges great tracts of Allied territory, she has the means to protect herself. What this Allied policy means as a minimum is that the settlement will now depend on three factors instead of two—the power to close markets, as well as the balance of military success on land and the command of the seas.

The future of Europe turns on the question whether this new commercial policy is regarded by the leading Allied statesmen simply as a powerful expedient for reducing Germany to terms, or whether it springs from a fixed purpose to crush not merely the "militarism" but the trade of Germany. Public speeches supply no real clue to the answer, for if the danger of a trade war after peace is to be used with effect as one means of bringing Germany to terms, the Allies must take all the preliminary steps to make the threat effective. Even on this moderate reading of motive, the revolution alike in British and in European policy is momentous. Hitherto an alliance has rarely involved any surrender of economic nationalism. France and Russia maintained high tariffs against each other, and Austria "protected" her industries against German competition with peculiar jealousy. The world war is breaking down these traditional divisions. While the Germans are discussing the foundation of "Mitteleuropa," and projecting the extension of their trust and cartel system over the territories of their allies, the Entente on its side is facing over its vaster and more scattered area the creation of a far more adventurous and difficult unity. England has not yet formally abandoned free trade, but the decision is already taken in principle. If we are to act after the war in economic alliance with France and Russia and perhaps with Italy and Japan, our fiscal system must in some degree be conformed to theirs. If, moreover, we are as an empire to use tariffs as an engine of our world policy, it is clear that we must also in some degree realize Mr. Chamberlain's dream of an imperial customs union. We have come to this point, as we came to the abandonment of voluntary service, without any conscious departure from principles. The *Daily News* actually advocates a five years' prohibition of German imports at the end of a leading article which recites all the familiar arguments against protection.

Our drift into this startling revolution is simply a consequence of the domination of all our political thinking by the idea of power. The war has come to have for nine men in ten only one meaning—the breaking of German power. Its course has taught

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us how closely military efficiency depends on economic vigor. Our main struggle is to-day to reduce Germany by an embargo on her foreign trade, and our main concern when we survey our own case is lest the effort to place a first-class continental army in the field should so weaken our production as to embarass our credit. Inevitably the anxiety dogs our thoughts, that when the war is over, Germany may through her unrivalled power of reorganization build up once more by the activities of trade the resources which will again enable her to threaten a continent with her arms. To keep her peaceful, so runs this argument, we must keep her weak, and to keep her weak, we must keep her poor. The expedient which naturally suggests itself is that we should by combination limit her markets.

That is, I think, the main stream of thought, though others cross it. There is the distaste at the thought of renewing any kind of intercourse with her. There is the savage puritanical instinct which desires to " punish " her. There is, of course, the even cruder trader's egoism which simply desires to exploit the hatreds of war in order to exclude a formidable rival from valuable markets. To all these arguments and emotions economists in vain address their queries and cautions. Can any increase of our trade with the rest of the world balance the loss to us of the German market? Can we " punish " Germany without also punishing ourselves, or limit her power without weakening our own? Such reasoning leaves the determined national temper unaffected. There is an idealism of enmity as there is an idealism of goodwill. We are prepared to-day for the slaughter of our own citizens, provided we can slaughter Germany's. Why should we shrink tomorrow from suffering loss in trade, if we can certainly inflict it? Under all this surface play of emotion a deeper logic guides us. It was the rivalry for minerals and markets and exclusive areas of exploitation, from Morocco to Bagdad, which produced the world war. Its outcome, if it settles anything at all, must be first and foremost a sweeping series of economic readjustments. We were free-traders before the war only in the sense that we rejected tariffs at home because we wanted cheap commodities. We had long ago thrown over the essence of free trade, when like all our continental rivals we gave nationality to money and used the power of the state to secure or oppose concessions for national groups of financiers.

The meaning of this new phase of the war must be frankly faced. If this tendency prevails, the war is carrying us not toward peace, but only to another phase of conflict. The old impartial protection of the past was bad economics and bad internationalism. But it was defensive in intention. If we decided to-morrow to levy a uniform tariff on friends and enemies alike, that would be our good right and no nation need feel resentment. But if we say that we will have one rate of duties for French goods and another for German, we shall have deepened the trenches across Europe, and garnished them with a triple hedge of barbed wire. We shall proclaim in plain figures that we regard Germany as our permanent enemy, and that our policy in peace as in war is still to inflict on her the maximum of injury. I question whether the fantastic idea of grading tariffs, step by step by ascending percentages, to colonies, allies, neutrals and enemies, could ever be carried out. That is a nightmare of wartime. But some arrangement by which our enemies of to-day will enjoy less favored treatment than our friends is perfectly feasible, and by no means remote. It would hasten on the other side the conversion of the Central Powers into a solid economic unit. It would very soon compel the weaker neutrals to adhere to one group or the other. The same embarrassing questions about the intermediary trade of Holland and Denmark which have vexed the working of our blockade would reappear in a new form. The association between trade and war would become permanently fixed in the minds of all the inhabitants of Europe. We should dimly remember that we had once read our Cobden and our Norman Angell, but the crude fact that war does delimit markets, that political alliances do make economic leagues, that victory on land and sea does direct the course of commerce would be all day and every day the foreground of our landscape. Only a rare reflective mind would stop to inquire whether this system did actually make for the world's prosperity and happiness. The moral would be plain to the meanest understanding—and above all to it. There would be a new frenzy of armaments, and our frontiers, which were imaginary lines on the map, would have become fortified customs' barriers. Conscription of course would be with us as a permanency, and the dream which Mr. Asquith sketched in his famous Dublin speech, and endorsed once more only the other day, of a Europe gradually evolving from the idea of a balance of power to a community based on law, would haunt us only as an ironical memory. At the first breach of the unity of either league, the first discovery by any ally that the new economic ties were unnatural and expensive, the risk of a fresh war would be upon us. The adoption of this policy means, in short, the certain abandonment—it is difficult not to write the conscious abandonment—of all that facile idealism which preached the establishment of a permanent peace as the outcome of this war.

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There remains the hope that this scheme, vague as yet in all the official sketches, may be not an objective to be realized by war, but simply a factor in the final bargain. If there comes a point, when the settlement arrives, at which the Allies can say to Germany, "Look at us. Our unity is unbroken, we are one army, one fleet, one market," the answer may be, "What will you take to open that market?" That will be the testing time for the real spirit of the Entente. Two answers are possible. One of them would be, "We do not mean on any terms to open that market: our central purpose is to break your power and therefore your trade." In that case it is clear that unless Germany were already broken, the Allies could hope to achieve few of their other purposes. The other answer would be, "We will open our markets, we will even allow you reasonable facilities for economic expansion, but we insist in return on certain concessions to the principle of nationality, and on certain guaranties for an enduring peace." Between these two alternatives, unless some miracle should bring a catastrophic victory, the Allies must one day choose. If they decide to build the settlement on the basis of a trade war, they must perforce lighten their cargo of ideals.

H. N. Brailsford.

London, March.

# What's in a Pagoda?

A ROW of Japanese pagodas began three years ago to sprout outside the Jacobean gates of Bryn Mawr College. This alien growth was regarded askance by the classicists. The concern of a college was academic teaching; and that of all colleges Bryn Mawr, the last stronghold of pure scholarship, should undertake to foster a pragmatic experiment in secondary education was nothing less than a paradox.

A paradox, perhaps, but one that gives the radical fresh heart—not merely the radical alumna, but anyone who is concerned with the relation between school, college and society. If education is a matter of higher and lower institutions that by judicious manipulation can be made to fit into each other like Japanese boxes, then the "Phebe Anna Thorne Open Air Model School for Girls" can serve no purpose. For in spite of its pedantic name, in spite of its official connection with the Bryn Mawr education department, this is not a fitting school in any ordinary sense. It is, if you like, a laboratory experiment in modern methods of teaching, the type of experiment which contains the germ of the future.

It looks to a future in which education shall emerge as an organic coördinated process, instead of a jumble of warring forces. It would be hard to-day to find two more irreconcilable adversaries than the college and the school. For years they have been fighting, the one to maintain a high theoretical standing of culture and mental discipline; the other to find a practical method of projecting the youthful mind through the narrow college gate. The result has been that the average freshman enters the halls of learning jaded with mechanical cram, overtaught in certain lines and densely ignorant in others, unable as a rule to think independently. The entrance examinations have been a perpetual war zone, and the latest compromise on the part of the college is the so-called comprehensive examination—a broad examination in four subjects only—first adopted at Harvard and now spreading elsewhere. From this movement Bryn Mawr, rightly or wrongly, stands apart. She still requires for matriculation eight subjects which include at least one ancient language. According to her, if I read the paradoxical pagoda aright, it is not the classic subject matter that should be modified but the method by which that subject matter is acquired. A school, she is demonstrating, need not be an intellectual forcing house but a warm rich soil for the mind and personality to grow in—a sort of college in embryo.

Flexibility and discipline are relative terms after all. Or so I felt after watching the eager little girls at the Model School making Latin and grammar and other supposedly dusty subjects the stuff of their vivid experience. In this school intellectual curiosity plays like lightning around the room, runs like quicksilver through the veins of every scholar. How much the fresh air and sun that bathe the pagodas—they are built with three sliding glass sides and a back open full to the south—contribute to the glow of the faces under the Esquimaux hoods it would be difficult to say. School begins at nine and lasts till half past three with two bread-and-milk luncheons, a midday dinner followed by an outdoor siesta, and a period of field games and Dalcroze Eurhythmics interspersed between the lessons. Undoubtedly this well rounded schedule helps to create the beautiful air of happiness that one notices first of all in the children. There is a splendid swiftness and purposefulness about them; the moment a class is over they are off like arrows to play ball for five minutes in a field, to eat, to change their Arctic clothes for blue bathing suits and move rhythmically up and down a big indoor room; all apparently undirected and of their own free will. But their mental movements are as strikingly light and spontaneous: their minds are always expanding and exploring.

The first class I visited was one in history—girls from ten to twelve years old. "What did he look like?" the teacher was saying, and all the hands and not a few of the trousered legs—for order is not

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kept in the traditional manner—began to wave. "Polly"—and Polly leaped from her seat and went and stood smiling at the front of the room, the place where the teacher usually sits enthroned. In this school the teacher is deskless; she moves about among the rows of scholars, and it is the reciting child that faces and becomes the focus of the class. Of all the modern features of the school this one, the Director told me, most outrages the pedagogues. "Pure waste of time." A waste of time to learn to stand straight and unconscious, and speak easily and convincingly to a challenging audience of your peers, instead of carrying on an artificial dialogue with your teacher? Anyone who knows how difficult it is to get good discussion from women college students, and to train women in public speaking will realize the value of this simple device.

"He was a big, vigorous man," began Polly, "a commanding looking person." He wore this sort of sword and that sort of tunic, she went on to explain, "and if I saw him a block away I should know that he was Charlemagne."

"But all the Franks wore that kind of sword and tunic," objected one child.

"And all the Franks were big and vigorous," said another.

So Polly had to make her description more radical or yield the floor to a rival. Before the period was over we had had a very complete comparison of the laws and institutions of the Franks with those of the Greeks and Romans. All this knowledge, I learned, had been acquired from selected texts read aloud one day by the teacher, and the next thus discussed and digested by the class.

In such teaching information cannot "come in one ear and go out the other." It has to be really seized and comprehended, not merely memorized. Text books are used very little and no home work is done. Arithmetic is taught chiefly by means of games. Geography is not approached through the rivers of China or the capitals of the New England states, but by study of the structure of the earth, and map work. Among the most remarkable classes I saw were those in Latin and French where, for the ancient as for the modern language, the direct method is used. I heard simple Latin prose read aloud as easily and as convincingly as English by children from eleven to thirteen. There was only one book passed from child to child, and no translation was made except when a new word occurred. Yet the class followed with delight and before the lesson was over plunged into Latin conversation.

"What do you do in the evening?" came the Latin question.

"Lego et dormio." That was too easy! But when it was a question of using a noun in the accusative or dative the same ease prevailed, and there was no difficulty with the vocabulary. The foundations, I think, had been laid by naming the familiar objects in the room, as was done with French.

In every subject, the approach is made from the particular and the concrete to the abstract. The child is taught to react independently to what her eye and ear record, to extract for herself general laws and principles. The Director follows the aptitudes of each pupil with closest attention and impresses on her teacher the necessity of looking for the fundamental logic in an apparently illogical remark. For instance: "In Mars do they plant Mars in pots?" asked one child. When the class laughed she retorted, "Well, on Earth, we plant Earth in flowerpots." The total effect of the method and régime employed—barely suggested here—is to develop a very unusual combination of physical and mental vitality, of poise and expressiveness—an expressiveness that isn't mere fluency. So little writing has been permitted that it is keenly desired, and the Director believes that these girls will never write English from the ends of their pens but with the bottom of their minds.

"Infinity? Yes, I can explain it," said one little girl of ten. "Just imagine a lady-bug walking across the school floor—first she crosses one crack, then another, then another—that is infinity to the bug."

Has the school a theory? Its Director, a disciple of Dr. Dewey, is the first to disclaim originality. All that she wishes to do is to formulate the half articulate new hopes and beliefs of the community. What chiefly distinguishes her experiment from that of the other "schools of to-morrow" is first, that this school is limited in size to seven classes of fifteen pupils; second, that it is a coördinate part of a college education department. This does not mean that it is a practise school, or that such theories as do obtain there originate in the seminar. The individual child at one end of the scale, at the other the achieved and developing social values—these are the two factors kept constantly in view. The school is a self-governing community where education is not preparation for college, or even for life, but living itself. "And the college entrance examinations?" protest classicists and vocationalists alike. The Director believes that her girls will pass them without knowing it. It is true, however, that in this vexed matter nothing is yet proved, as the school is only three years old. But the fact that the course is seven years long, and that no child may enter except in the first class, should eliminate the usual evils of preparation and make the dreaded examination very much less of a bugaboo.

An amateur's impression after spending several days at the school is that such mental power as the oldest pupils already show—and I admit that it is

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Latin and grammar, not carpentry or gardening that has developed this power so far—cannot be mechanized by any examination tests. Will not the academic reforms for which the radicals are clamoring come of themselves as a result of new experiments in secondary education? When girls who have used their minds creatively instead of receptively for seven years reach the lecture system, for instance, something spectacular is going to happen—something very like the famous meeting between the immovable body and the irresistible force.

ELIZABETH SHEPLEY SERGEANT.

# Russia's Door Ajar

TWO letters were recently published in the *Journal de Genève* entitled "The Black Congress" and "The Door Ajar." Evidently written by a Russian correspondent sympathetic to the Duma, they give a glimpse of the cross-currents still running throughout the empire of the Czar.

From the very beginning of the war it has been evident that the heart of the Russian people was profoundly engaged against the Germans; but among the courtiers and the bureaucrats there has been an undertow of disloyalty. It is interesting to speculate regarding the elements of which this disloyalty is composed.

There recently met in Petrograd, on December 7th, 1915, an assembly which with unconscious humor called itself "The Union of the Russian People." "Neither elected representatives of the nation, nor deputies of the provincial governments, nor delegates from all the cities of the empire, nor leaders of the great industries" were there, says this correspondent, but "the leaders of the black hundreds, the organizers of pogroms—these were the ones whom at that precise moment the government had sought out to speak in the name of Russia."

There were two hundred and forty men at this congress. After Petrograd, they went to Nijni-Novgorod and made a tour in Russia. But nowhere were they, nowhere did they feel themselves at home. It was a general staff without troops, an assembly without credentials. The war was the least of their worries. "What matters is the internal frontier."

Their names to an American mean nothing. Makaroff, Maklakoff, Zamyslovski, Professor Levacheff, Dr. Doubravine, Boulatzel, Glinka, Chtcheglovitoff are at least Russian, not German names. Bureaucracy made them rich, autocracy cemented them in their niches of incompetence. The war was the least of their worries; they wished to save their bacon. And so we read the same old sentiments which have made the name of Russia a byword for cruelty and extortion in the United States, sentiments which no more reflect the real Russia than do the statements of the ultra-reactionaries reflect America.

During their convention in Petrograd they called the Duma "the hydra of the Revolution brought back to life." They said it was for the Revolution only that the committee of war industries worked. They called Moscow treacherous, Petrograd rotten. They said the universities were disgusting, the youth of the country good for nothing, the working classes traitors. They said all the writers, artists and scientists were sold out to the Jews.

Chtcheglovitoff, a former Minister of Justice, presided. In his opening speech he declared that a monarchist who dared ask whether the ministers chosen by the Czar possessed also the confidence of the people was not a monarchist but a traitor. The real monarchist adores the Czar without reserve, the Czar who lights us from the height of the throne and like the sun gives our country life and happiness.

To an American this sort of thing appears sheer nonsense, even from Russia, but the resolutions adopted by the assembly of the "Union of the Russian People" are more enlightening—no concessions to the people of Little Russia or Finland and particularly no concessions to the Jews; no political amnesty; no softening of religious persecution. "Along the internal frontier," concludes the correspondent of the *Journal de Genève,* "a vigorous offensive and no quarter."

Men of such opinions naturally do not want to see Germany beaten. The Hohenzollerns are to them the "representatives of the monarchical idea." The destruction of Germany, writes Chtcheglovitoff, would carry with it the destruction of conservative policies; the triumph of England and France would be that of democracy and political radicalism, which would sweep over Europe, Germany once beaten, in a great wave and engulf our fatherland also. It was the Jews, writes still another member of this band, not the Germans, who brought on the war.

The correspondent of the *Journal de Genève* goes on to say that if one considers also that all the press in which these statements were printed—the Zemchtchina, Sviet, Rousskoie Zuamia—exists exclusively on government subsidies; if one considers that these are the only journals allowed at the front; that at this Black Congress, held in Petrograd at the moment when all national voices were stifled, the Minister of the Interior had himself represented by his adjutant; that other ministers enjoined their subordinates by circular to attend;

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that the metropolitan bishops of the two capitals were there in attendance in great pomp; that the chairmanship was given to an ex-minister who had previously asked "why after all we were at war with Germany and what was the use of such a war, anyway," and who last spring presented a project for a separate peace in concert with two other ex-Ministers of the Interior, Maklakoff and Makaroff, also present at the congress; if one considers all these facts as a whole, one can understand that apprehension is legitimate.

It is the new Russia, goes on the correspondent, who wants the war. She has made of it her work, her unique task. A strong instinct pushes her on to organize herself. The other Russia hinders. But the other Russia, the old Russia, also wishes victory, for defeat would be her destruction—a Russia ruined, dismembered, humiliated, the prey of revolution. To work in common. Impossible, and yet it must be done. A situation with no outlet.

Then comes the conclusion of the correspondent of the *Journal de Genève,* a curious conclusion: "A separate peace is an open door which must be left ajar, come what may."

Now it must not be forgotten that these are the views of an extreme liberal. No doubt political bias affects his opinions. But nevertheless practically all Russian accounts of the war are inspired from official sources or else are made in Berlin. This is the first Russian criticism which I have seen plainly emanating from the "Young Russia," or "New Russia" party, and I give it for what it is worth. The *Journal de Genève* is a pro-Ally newspaper; and I may add that the Russian legation at Berne wrote to deny the implications regarding the complicity of the Czar in the holding of the "Black Congress," but did not deny the authenticity of the views attributed to its authors. The Russians say that this is their war; that "poor little France" was dragged into it only through them. The people mean to see it through. The landed aristocracy mean to see it through.

What the bureaucracy intends perhaps does not so much matter. The vested rights of a bureaucracy, like other vested rights, seem more important to their holders than to outsiders.

The people of Russia, like Russian armies, move slowly. But it will take more than a cringing overfed body of officials to stop them, now that their heart is in the fight. The bureaucrats may maintain their "door ajar" toward Germany; but does anyone suppose that the Russian people will ever follow them through?

GERALD MORGAN.

# Capitalism of the Camp

THE Mexicans do not like us. They do not like us now when we are undertaking their liberation from the curse of Villa's brigandage. They did not like us in the peaceful days of Diaz, when we were pouring capital into Mexico, creating opportunities of employment and business that helped to elevate many Mexicans out of the primal poverty that is as oppressive to Mexicans as to any other race. The Mexican attitude of peace times is well illustrated by an incident related by a mine manager, now a fugitive from Sinaloa. One night his paymaster, an American, believed to have considerable funds in his possession, was brutally murdered, and his house looted by five Mexicans, who openly boasted next day of their exploit and hawked the loot about on the street. The murderers were arrested and convicted, thanks to the influence of the mining company, and held in jail awaiting execution. There they had the time of their lives. The whole Mexican population made pilgrimages to the cells of the "martyrs," bringing flowers and wine and the foods locally held most delicious. Monster pardon petitions went up to the governor of the state; local politicians of influence even requested the signatures of the American mine officials. And when, by pressure exerted through Diaz, the sentences were executed, the town decked itself in crêpe. Poor victims of the Gringoes!

It is an easy explanation that the Mexicans are primitive folk, with no conception of right and wrong, but only conceptions of racial difference and national antagonism. But the incident recounted above might be paralleled in its essential features by many incidents that have occurred within our own domains. Let us recall the stormy labor history of Colorado, Idaho, Utah, West Virginia, Pennsylvania. Crimes against the company or its officials have often been condoned by workers sharing in the west-European racial stock and the supposed west-European moral system. If there is a form of capitalism that is compatible with democracy and good order, there is also a form which, even on our own soil, proves feudalistic and disorderly. Orderly capitalism is characteristic of the great industrial regions. The feudalistic form of capitalism—what we may term capitalism of the camp—is to be found chiefly in remote, sparsely peopled regions—especially in the mining, construc-

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tion and lumbering industries. It is this form of capitalism that is most likely to make its appearance in backward countries under course of development through foreign investments. Until we clearly understand the nature of capitalism of the camp, and develop appropriate legal institutions for its regulation, our progress will be attended by disorder at home and hatred abroad.

Contrast the situation of an industrial enterprise in New York or Massachusetts with that of a mining enterprise in some remote valley of the Rocky Mountains. The industrial enterprise as a rule is only one out of a great number of possible opportunities of employment for the greater part of its men. Hiring or firing are not equivalent to food or starvation. The relation between employer and employee narrows down to the labor contract proper. Once in possession of his pay, the worker spends it where he pleases, for living quarters, for supplies, for amusement. The community provides him with schools and churches; it maintains courts and police reasonably independent of any particular employer. If conflict arises between employer and employees, there is a substantial body of outside public opinion for each side to placate. The employer is forced to be more or less liberal, the workers more or less conciliatory. Strife does indeed arise even in such conditions; bitter antagonisms are indeed engendered. We have still a long road to travel before we attain to a reconciliation of justice and efficiency even in these simplest of circumstances. But we appear to be on the way. It is doubtful that so much may be said of the capitalism of the camp.

In the mining camp of the Rocky Mountains his relation to the employer pervades the whole life of the employee. There is no local alternative employment; the worker who is disgruntled must make his way as best he can back to civilization, and if there is any work left in him the company will not bestir itself to facilitate his transportation. In the nature of the case, housing must be provided by the company; household supplies must be furnished by the company or by some outsider only theoretically independent of the company. Church and school—if such exist—, courts and police—which will certainly exist—will inevitably be more or less dominated by the company. In case of an industrial dispute, there is no local body of independent public opinion to which appeal may be made. The conflict between employer and employee extends to all relations of life. The striking employee may lose his wages, be evicted from his dwelling, be deprived of access to grocery and meat-market, be beaten up by company police, convicted by company judges, and damned by company clergy. Be it admitted that the case is an extreme one. It falls within the bounds of experience. And what is more to the point, tyranny is to be judged by its possibilities, not by its usual performance. There are thousands of men in America to-day who feel themselves subject to just this kind of tyranny. And to them the industrial struggle, elsewhere only a special type of the struggle between buyer and seller, assumes the form of rebellion against grinding authority. Hence their inclination toward violence, their disposition to condone even vulgar crime against the employer and his agents. It is a relapse into the ethics of war.

If capitalism of the camp presents difficult problems even in our own territory, where employers and employees are largely of one racial stock, one tradition, subject to the restraining influence of at least a remote public opinion, what must be the problems it presents in a country like Mexico, where the barriers of race and dissimilar tradition make sympathetic understanding impossible? It is no doubt true that our managers of Mexican enterprises endeavor, as a rule, to keep their working folk contented. There are numerous instances of the creation of a loyalty to particular managers, reminiscent of feudalism at its best. But the relation is inherently susceptible of abuse. Say that the abuses are only occasional; so long as they are possible the Mexican will hate the Gringo, or any other foreigner who happens to be identified with the system.

Capitalism of the camp inevitably transcends the sphere that the modern state can safely allot to purely private enterprise. Through its pervasive control of the whole economic life of its employees, through its close relations with the social services and the police and judicial functions, it is necessarily a form of government as well as a money-making enterprise. The mining camp company is by nature a public corporation. In law we treat it as a private corporation; therefore we fail utterly to solve its problems.

When we have made up our minds as to the nature of capitalism of the camp we shall see the necessity of devising a new set of institutions for its regulation. The public authority chartering such a corporation will have to reserve to itself the functions of government. The wages contract, "hiring and firing," the character and price of housing and supplies furnished, the provision to be made for churches, schools, medical service, will not be left to the caprice of the employer, animated chiefly by considerations of profit, but will be kept subject to the control of the chartering authority. Police and courts will not be created by the employer out of local vestiges, but will be provided by the central authority and kept independent. A corporation will not be perfunctorily chartered to operate mines

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or exploit forests in countries of backward development, but the public authority granting the charter will, in coöperation with the foreign government concerned, specify down to minute details the treatment to be accorded to the working personnel, and provide administrative organs for insuring the carrying out of such provisions.

A country with immense natural resources like Mexico could, with the aid of foreign capital and enterprise, be lifted entirely out of the morass of poverty and disorder in which she welters. With a higher level of wealth, opportunities would be thrown open to Mexicans of ambition. Business and the professions would exert their stimulative and selective effects, and a new Mexican culture, springing out of a temperament historically fruitful, would enrich the world's civilization. Without foreign capital, the progress of Mexico will necessarily be slow and uncertain. With foreign capital, organized in the form of capitalism of the camp, the immediate prospect is merely industrial peonage succeeding to agrarian peonage. We have not solved our domestic problem of capitalism of the camp; when we shall have done this we shall have proven our ability to participate helpfully in the industrial regeneration of Mexico and any other undeveloped country.

ALVIN S. JOHNSON.

# Iridescent Art

EVEN if discerning fellow-countrymen had forced the office of Destroyer and Preserver upon me, and had commanded me, in their quaint contemporary dialect, to " decimate " existing works of art, I am far from certain that I should destroy the works of Louis Comfort Tiffany. Under the yoke of so new a responsibility I might perhaps be driven into all the many houses where his work has found asylum. I might seize and condemn everything into which his kindly nature had most flagrantly breathed the breath of its life. Not improbably I should sentence him to produce no more. Yet something of him I should certainly preserve, enough to warrant him in riding off to the future with the words *non omnis moriar* displayed on the favrile glass of his shield.

At the corner of Madison Avenue and Forty-fifth Street, New York, in the Tiffany Studios, there has lately been a " retrospective exhibition of Louis C. Tiffany, in metal, glass, jewelry, enamels, pottery, and paintings in oil and water color." This exhibition ought to be kept just as it is, no matter how the bigots of good taste surge and roar and break their hearts, till the end of days. As it was on the morning when I went to see it, so it should remain forever, lustrous, refulgent, nacreous, no two specimens alike. Not one employee should be changed or allowed to grow older. Secret rebels there may be among these employees, furtive heretics who deem the splendor guilty, but on the outside all are courteous respecters of themselves and the establishment. Evidently a place of good understandings and living wages and friendly ways. A feeling that resembles esteem for Mr. Tiffany invades your heart.

Can this esteem survive a trip upstairs, where you emerge from the elevator, and go on tiptoe, as you might have stolen across Isaac of York's threshold, into the upper chamber where the retrospective exhibition is housed, where rugs hung across the skylight shut out the garish day, where there is an expensive hush, a precious dimness, with things in cases brightly lit? On nearly all the walls are sober-blooded paintings, nowise riotous, many of them so void of offense that you could live with them, if you had to. Looking at them you fancy, for a moment, that you must have erred into a department store. The fancy dies as soon as your eyes forsake the pallid walls for any of the many central cases where the other art works lie or stand, where Mr. Tiffany has let himself go, where his taste glows and blooms and blushes and flushes, where the jewels are, and the favrile glass, and the eighteen carat gold.

Round the corner from my father's house there used to be a neighbor's house painted white, with cobalt blinds. The neighbor had told his architect that no two windows on the street side must be alike, and it was so. No duplicates among those windows. Each specimen unique. A similar passion has haunted Mr. Tiffany. Tear-bottles, vases, lamps and brooches, each has been more precious in his eyes, and dearer to his heart, because nothing else in the world was precisely like it. And with Mr. Tiffany's aversion from the duplicate we must put his aversion from the copy. He has seen and loved many good forms in art and in nature, but he has copied none exactly. He has taken this model and blurred its sharp outlines, that model and smeared its distinct pattern. At first you think this indecision an accident of handicraft, but on seeing it everywhere you realize that he must prefer indecision. A singular result of his effort to make each of his things look rare is that nearly all of them look expensive—this prize-taking vase with shrugged shoulders and long ears, this lamp that suggests a slave girl with three uplifted arms that support the globe; this little row of Mexican opals, like charity boys dressed in uniform, playing with all the little chrysoprases; this old tear-bottle, multiplied to seventeen times its natural size, and laid on its side in velvet.

How many joys Mr. Tiffany has thrilled with as

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he went about the world, and how strangely, for the delight of purchasers and for his own delight, he has mixed himself with what he has seen! He must have walked along many beaches, studying with open inaccurate eyes the amphibious fauna which abound, I am told, in such places. He has wandered in many forests, looking at waving branches tipped with life, at roots and webs and insects. The idea came to him of marrying two small fishes to a bit of fossilized wood, that something new in favrile glass might be given to mankind. China has been to him a treasure house, in which he has found models to alter and mar. He has travelled in Benares, he must have dreamed dreams by the well once filled with the sweat of Vishnu, near the Manikarnika Ghat. He has brought home the desire for studded jewels all over a shape. Woman, had Mr. Tiffany created her, instead of having two only, would have had many breasts, and each breast, instead of having one only, would, if Mr. Tiffany had created woman, have been all encrusted with nipples.

Blurred tumult, spotty color and iridescent unrestraint give feature to Mr. Tiffany's art. Here and there he begins to correct himself, as in this good red vase, only to falter, to fall, to feel irresistibly the temptation to be himself all over the vase's neck. Downstairs there are a few lovely shapes in metal, but here again he fell. The patterns on the edges of these Greek shapes are not Greek and incisive, but blurred and smirched.

And yet, although he has done so many things that he ought not to have done, no two alike, you cannot feel unkindly toward him. His own human kindness, his desire to give by his art as much pleasure as art and nature have given him, is both real and obvious. He likes to let your eyes, as they look at glass for windows, see a world of snow and pine needles, of rocks and cold streams. Let us remember this kindness, this something likable, as we leave the retrospective exhibition, trying to forget it, trying not to think of the people who will buy all these things and possess these things and never break these things.

For people have bought and will buy. The explanation of this paradox is simple. Mr. Tiffany's art work has an uncanny unity. Had any specimen of it, except a painted picture, been shown to Adam when he was naming things by divine instinct, Adam would not have hesitated, whether the specimen were enamel, metal or favrile glass. Adam would have known at once that he was face to face with The Wedding Present.

EZRA THARP.

# *CORRESPONDENCE*

## Why Not Freedom of the Seas?

SIR: The *Realpolitik* motive of appeal to national interest and the sanction of a new internationalism mingle rather oddly in that astonishing apologetic for an alliance with Great Britain, "Submarines as Commerce Destroyers." Certainly after that article Mr. Santayana can hardly accuse THE NEW REPUBLIC of being pro-German. Although the present war might be thought normally to suggest the folly of alliances—what substantial conflict of interests, for example, is there between France and Austria?—the attitude of THE NEW REPUBLIC has consistently urged the United States to an alliance with England, and the key to that attitude is very frankly revealed in the article I have mentioned. Sea power is the hard, stubborn fact which all our Angell's tears cannot wash away. That sea power is admittedly England's. You tell us either that we must compromise with that power—or, more euphemistically, make an alliance with it—compete with it (involving enormous waste), stand pat and try to assimilate the new intruder, the submarine, into the existing structure of marine or English law—which has already and would in the future mean a reign of terror on the high seas—or, finally, support the German position concerning the freedom of the seas. With great justice you describe the German position as one which would sanction "the right of all nations to trade during war almost to the same extent that they do during peace."

Here are four possible courses of action which about cover all the ground. Among them it is our business to discover one to which we can attach the driving power of a national policy. The policy of competition seems stupid and wasteful. Even President Wilson, now that he has had a chance to think it over, must be a bit ashamed of that sentence in his western trip about our navy being second to none. As for standing pat, has not the whole history of our relations with belligerents during the present war been a painful example of the impossibility of such a policy? We cannot blow hot and cold at the same time. We cannot insist on the right of visit and search without practically asking Germany to abandon her whole under-sea campaign. Yet we cannot admit that a submarine commander can lawfully torpedo a vessel which is "attempting to escape" without practically inviting Germany to sink vessels first and explain afterwards, without forcing England to arm its merchant vessels and then quarreling with Germany because it complains of that armament. We have teetered between what at bottom are irreconcilable positions until we are dizzy.

Two radical alternatives remain—an alliance with Great Britain or a support of the German contention for the freedom of the seas. Our selection of the latter of these seems to fill the author of the submarine article with a sort of sacred horror. He admits that we have flirted with such an idea in the past (and so has France, too), and he might have added that we have thought so highly of the German contention that we went to war with Great Britain once in support of it and twice seriously threatened to go to war.

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But to-day there is no health in it. The right of commerce to continue in war very much as in peace doesn't seem on the surface such a sinister possibility. The author of the submarine article, however, has made a remarkable discovery—he says that the existence of such a right would make us the accomplices of aggressive military land power. Now I lay it down as a challenge, just how does it? If freedom of the seas, in the German sense, existed, how would that make us the accomplice of anybody? Provided public opinion in the United States felt very strongly that a nation had unjustifiably declared war, is there any reason that such public opinion might not find expression in the declaration of an embargo upon all exports to that country? All that freedom of the seas would do would be to throw back upon ourselves the decision as to which nation we should help, instead of forcing us to accept Great Britain's word for it. The justice of causes would be something to disturb our own conscience rather than England's. And who can so confidently assume that a time might not come in which our strongest desire might be to help England's foe, instead of, as it is to-day, to hinder her? What warrant have we for assuming that Britannia's shield will always be bright?

The other radical step we may take is to abandon our isolation and form an alliance with Great Britain. Unfortunately this proposal gets an unfair advantage from carrying with it the specious implication of being a step towards internationalism. I for one believe in international organization, but I do not see that our allying ourselves with Great Britain would contribute towards that organization any more than, let us say, the alliance between Germany and Austria has already done. Internationalism means organization on international grounds, not on duonational grounds. Yet I should hardly demur from this proposal, did I perceive any strictly American interest that would be conserved by it. What would be gained? Nothing—except the strengthening of friendly relations and the extirpation of any temptation to start a dreadnought race with England. The first of these desirable results lies always within our power; the second is absurd anyway, doubly absurd if we give the submarine a recognized place. What we should find happening would be that we would often be fighting England's battles. And alliances have a curious way of dissolving quite suddenly. You cannot postulate their imperishability. If we formed an alliance with Great Britain and put ourselves under the naval guardianship such an alliance would involve, our position on the dissolution of that alliance would not be enviable. What the writer seemed to have in mind was this: Let us join the mistress of the seas; together with her we can jointly control the commerce of the world. But this dream, even if we granted that the two partners never would quarrel, would have rude awakenings when hostile torpedoes went crashing against the hulls of the allied American and British fleets and merchant ships—especially merchant ships. "Hence, it is," continues the article, "that organized sea power will be obliged to outlaw submarines as commerce destroyers." That is, it will be if English marine law is to be saved. For *Realpolitik* that is pretty academic. Whether we like it or not the submarine has come to stay, just exactly as whether we like it or not poisonous gases have come to stay, just exactly as whether we like it or not "civilization" has come to stay. If the law doesn't fit these new weapons, then the law must yield. Would the law yielding to the point the Germans ask be so terrible? Would all our hopes for civilization stagger if during war all nations traded "almost to the same extent that they do during peace?" What are you afraid of?

HAROLD STEARNS.

New York City.

## The Free Man and the Citizen

SIR: Mr. Perry's article in the issue for March 25th, "The Free Man and the Soldier," leaves me wondering. He first explodes the fallacy that compulsory military service is responsible for the lack of civil freedom, of high individualism in Germany. He cites the military system in France and in Switzerland as evidence to the contrary. He explains the English antagonism to such a system as temperamental rather than logical. The contrary side, that lack of compulsory military service produces great individual development and permits civil freedom, Mr. Perry destroys by an analysis of the results in this country of that very lack of military service. The absence of discipline has tolerated our selfishness instead of perfecting us as individuals. The civil freedom we possess we owe directly not to a lack of system, but to a presence of it in constitutions and laws, a system demanding regard for the rights of others. Aside from a few political liberties, we are a sodden lot, fond of what money will buy, complacent, aggressive, envious, or bitter in our selfishness, according to our chances at wealth.

The question which the article leaves is this: If we grant that a universal military system reflects the spirit of the people behind it, what are we to expect in a military system in America? If a system imposes upon the people only those characteristics which exist in the people, what would be the effect in America of an army animated by a fondness for material possessions, a greed for more possessions, a timidity in the face of irrational, irresponsible mass opinion? If military service produces evil only as it reflects evil, and good only when good lies behind it, how can we through such service "cultivate the soldierly qualities, or acquire the capacity for organized action" to which Mr. Perry exhorts us? Is compulsory military service the remedy for the selfish, narrow conception of social responsibility which Americans admittedly possess? The gross selfishness which results from the truculent laissez-faire tradition does argue for the need of some organizing, cohering, illuminating force. Instead of a system, however, which by Mr. Perry's own argument might easily become a wealth-acquiring tool, why not formulate a system of compulsory industrial service? Perhaps then we might come to have in America Free Men and Citizens.

HELEN R. HULL.

New York City.

## More About Mesopotamia

SIR: With regard to a letter published by you, and entitled "Trak not Mesopotamia," may I call your attention to the fact that the name of the Turkish province is "Irak," not "Trak." I should like to add that the entire modern province of Irak corresponds approximately to the ancient Babylonia, but at the present time the regions between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, both above and below Bagdad, are known both in England and on the Continent as "Mesopotamia," and are likely in the future so to be known, although the geographical appellation is somewhat misleading to students of ancient history.

GERALD MORGAN.

New York City.

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# Books and Things

ONE should not be ashamed to acknowledge the pursuit of the secret of life. That secret, however, is shockingly elusive. It is quite visible to me, somewhere in space. Like a ball swung before a kitten, it taunts my eye. Like a kitten I cannot help making a lunge after it. But tied to the ball there seems to be a mischievous invisible string. My eye fixes the secret of life but it escapes my paw.

During the Russo-Japanese war I thought I had it. It involved a great deal of stern discipline. Physically it meant giving up meat, Boston garters and cigarettes. It seemed largely composed of rice, hot baths followed by rolling in the snow and ju jitsu. The art of ju jitsu hinted at the very secret itself. Here was the crude West seeking to slug its way to mastery while the commonest Japanese had only to lay hold of life by the little finger to reduce it to squealing submission. The sinister power of ju jitsu haunted me. Unless the West could learn it we were putty in Japanese hands. It was the acme of effortless subtlety. A people with such an art, combined with ennobling vegetarianism, must necessarily be a superior people. I privately believed that the Japanese had employed it in sinking the Russian fleet.

Thomas Alva Edison displaced ju jitsu in my soul and supplanted it instead with a colossal contempt for sleep. An insincere contempt for food I already protested. No nation could hope to take the field that subsisted on heavy foods—such unclean things as sausages and beer. The secret of world mastery was a diet of rice. "We all eat too much" became a fixed conviction. But Mr. Edison forced a greater conviction—we all sleep too much as well. This thought had first come to me from Arnold Bennett. Sleep was a matter of habit, of bad habit. We sleep ourselves stupid. Who could not afford to lose a minute's sleep? Reduce sleep by a minute a day—who would miss it? And in 500 days you would have got down to the classical forty winks. Mr. Edison did not merely preach this gospel. He modestly indicated his own career to illustrate its successful practicability. To cut down sleep and cut down food was the only way to function like a superman.

Once started on this question of habits I spent a life of increasing turmoil. From Plato I heard the word moderation, but from William Blake I learned that "the road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom." From Benjamin Franklin I gathered the importance of good habits, but William James gleefully told me to avoid all habits, even good ones. And then came Scientific Management.

The concept of scientific management practically wrecked my life. I discovered that there was a right way of doing everything and that I was doing everything wrongly. It was no new idea to me that we were all astray about the simplest things. We did not know how to breathe properly. We did not know how to sit properly. We did not know how to walk properly. We wore a hard hat, it was making us bald. We wore pointed shoes, it was unfair to our little toe. But scientific management did not dawdle over such details. It nonchalantly pointed out that "waste motions" were the chief characteristic of our lives.

One of the most fantastic persons in the world is the public official who, before he can write a postal order or a tax receipt, has to make preliminary curls of penmanship in the air. Observed by the scientific eye, we are much more fantastic ourselves. If our effective motions could be registered on a visual target, our record would be found to resemble that of savages who use ammunition without a sight on their guns. If we think that the ordinary soldiers' marksmanship is wasteful, we may well look to ourselves. Our life is peppered with motions that fly wide and wild. It begins on awaking. We stretch our arms—waste motion! We ought to utilize that gesture for polishing our shoes. We rub our eyes—more foolishness. We should rub our eyes on Sunday for the rest of the week. But it is in processes like shaving that scientific management is really needed. Men flatter themselves that they shave with the minimum of gesture. They believe that they complete the operation under five minutes. But, excusing their inaccuracy, do they know that under the inspection of the scientific manager their performance would look as jagged as their razor-blade under the microscope? The day will probably arrive when a superman will shave with one superb motion, as delightful to the soul as the uncoiling of an orange-skin in one long unbroken peel.

In reading the newspaper a man most betrays the haphazard, unscrutinized conduct of his morn. We pick up our paper without any suspicion that we are about to commit intellectual felony. We do not know that the news editor is in a conspiracy to play on our minds. If men gyrate too much physically, they certainly are just as anarchistic when they start to look over the news. It is not so much that they begin the day with devouring the details of a murder or lull themselves with some excuse for not reading a British note on the blockade. It is the fact that they are led by a ring running through their instincts to obey the particular editors they read.

Viewing myself as a human machine, I cannot understand how the human race has survived. Even conceding that I was normal, it is so much the worse for normality. I simply belong to a monstrous breed. There is not one important layman's practise that we have organized with regard to discipline and efficiency. If bricklayers waste motions in laying bricks, how about the motions wasted in lifting one's hat and the circumvolutions in putting links in one's cuffs? How about the impulsive child who wastes motions so recklessly in giving his mother a hug? The discovery seemed chilly that everything could be scientifically managed, everything could be perfected if one took up an altitudinous position at the centre of one's life. But a fear of being chilly is a mark of inferiority. It ill becomes a human machine.

Yearning to live scrupulously on twenty-four hours a day, with vague longings to eat very little and sleep very little and master ju jitsu and breathe deep and chew hard and practise Mueller exercises and give up tobacco and coffee and hug my mother scientifically and save waste motions in putting on my shirt, I happened to come across two European thinkers, a physician and a metaphysician. Paralleling Shakespeare's knowledge of dead languages by my own knowledge of live ones, I could not read these masters in the original to determine whether they blended like oil and vinegar or fought like water and oil. But in the eagerness of philosophic poverty I grasped just two delightful words from them, "instinct" and "repression." The metaphysician's secret of life, apparently, was to drop using one's so-called intelligence so frantically, to become more like those marvels of instinct, the hyena and the whale. The physician merely seemed to put the ten commandments in their place. To tell the truth, his detection of "repression" gave me no tangible promise. I exculpate the doctor. But the evolutionist turned my thoughts away from the early worries of discipline. This is the latest ball in the air that the kitten is chasing, with no suspicion of any tantalizing invisible string.

F. H.

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# On Many Fronts

*Antwerp to Gallipoli, by Arthur Ruhl. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.*

GOOD reporting has been exceedingly difficult in the European war. In most dramatic situations the ordinary exponent or impressionist is competent. He can assume a general understanding of his theme and give himself to the stage. But little of this has been possible in the war. The authorities, in the first place, have necessarily handicapped the reporter. He has frankly not been wanted in the theater. In addition there have been the scope, the complexity, the tumult, the horror of the action. The reporter has himself been spun around like a cork in the rapids. To get anything out of it at all he has needed to have extraordinary balance and equipment.

Considering this difficulty, one which has dominated our best writers, a great deal has to be said in praise of Mr. Arthur Ruhl. When he wrote dramatic criticism for *Collier's Weekly,* the powers that be did their best to ruin him. They did their best to make him exteriorize, to adapt his interpretations to a supposed "*national*" *popular interest, to regard as negligible* his own feeling and thought. He was allowed to cock one ear at the theater, but his other ear someone nailed to the ground. The effect of such a practise showed in his book on South America. It was entertaining, but hopelessly superficial. It released none of the free sincerity that made his account of old Weston's walking tour so graphic and memorable. This sincerity, however, is largely recaptured in "Antwerp to Gallipoli." There are chapters of it that it is a definite loss not to have read.

Mr. Ruhl is not a publicist. That despised creature has proved himself to be in a position to throw much light on the present convulsion, a convulsion that has to be estimated politically as well as ethically, unless one is content to calculate the other fellow's motivations on the basis of one's own desires. But if Mr. Ruhl is not in the class that seeks to interpret the war as a political topic, he does report it as a humanist. He has had a year on many fronts. He was in Antwerp when it fell. He was in France after the Marne. He went to Bordeaux when the French government was there. He talked with Clemenceau. He spent some time in Berlin. He visited the German prison-camps. He interviewed Take Ionescu in Rumania. He got his impression of the Bulgarians. He was at the Dardanelles with the Turks. He went up to Lemberg with the forces of the Central Empires, and was with them "in the dust of the Russian retreat." In every situation that he encountered he showed himself sober, sensitive and open-minded. The passion of the war was not in his veins. He had neither the chance nor the disposition to judge events in the light of large consequences. But in the middle ground, the place that the inevitably casual observer is compelled to occupy, he reported keenly and honestly a great deal that is illuminating, significant and corrective.

To those who want to comprehend the German attitude, Mr. Ruhl is helpful. His sensations over "Peer Gynt" in Berlin are enlightening, also his characterization of "Hindenburg's dependable old face." "Yes, it is all here, along with the forty-two-centimetre shells," he says of Berlin, "good music and good beer and good love of both; simplicity, homely kindness and *Gemütlichkeit.*" "Apparently nobody ever heard of Bernhardi." "Treitschke—who was he?" But he detects in one theatrical performance a perplexing "mixture of refinement and brutality." And he says nothing to imply that there was any "homely kindness" about the Lusitania.

It is his recognition of a common humanity all through the different peoples, however, that is best expressed. "The same patience and quiet courage which had struck me in Antwerp as peculiarly Belgian, was here again in these Poles, Slovaks, and Ruthenians, whose boys, perhaps, were fighting with the armies which had driven the Belgians out." And again: "Suffering makes no right or wrong, of course. It is a part of war. Yet the more one sees of it and of this cannon fodder, the people on whom the burden of war really falls, how alike they all are in their courage, simplicity, patience and long-suffering, whether Hungarians or Russians, Belgians or Turks, the less simple it is to be convinced of the complete righteousness of any of the various general ideas in whose name these men are tortured."

It is not as though Mr Ruhl's blood did not flame with indignation over Belgium. He tells how he quivered about Louvain. But he offsets it. "The jagged chunk of shell had hit him at the top of the thigh and ploughed down to the knee. The wound had become infected, and the connecting tissues had rotted away until the leg was now scarcely more than a bone and the two flaps of flesh. . . . There was nothing decent about this wound. It was such a slash as one might expect in a slaughtered ox. It had been slit farther to clean the infection, until you could have thrust your fist into it, and, as the surgeon worked, the leg, partly from weakness, partly from the man's nervousness, trembled like a leaf.

"First the gauze stuffed into the cavity had to be pulled out. The man, of an age that suggested he might have left at home a peasant wife, slightly faded and weather-worn like himself, cringed and dug his nails into the underside of the table, but made no outcry. The surgeon squeezed. . . . The man—they had nicknamed him 'Pop'—breathed faster. This panting went into a moan, which deepened into a hoarse cry, and then, as he lost hold of himself completely, he began a hideous sort of sharp yelping like a dog."

Suffering may be a means to an end. Its infliction "proves" nothing. It does not prove that wars can be stopped or ought to be stopped. It does not prove that all governments are equally culpable. It should not make one a lie-down-and-walk-over-me pacifist. Yet there is too little talk in politics about peasants, about shell-wounds, gauze and pus.

F. H.

# Changing Russia

*The New Russia, by Alan Lethbridge. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $5.00.*

THE virtue of "The New Russia" resides in the clangor of facts which resounds so sturdily throughout the volume. Mr. Lethbridge has a quick eye for them; he is never really at home except in the midst of them. For example, from Archangel to Vologda is four hundred miles covered by a single, narrow-gauge track, ending conveniently on the left bank of the Dwina—the town itself is on the right—in peace times a twenty-hour trip. At Vologda the railroad joins the Perm-Petrograd line with its standard Russian gauge, hence all goods shipped from the northern port have to be reloaded here. General cargo, at Archangel, owing to lack of proper wharfage, has

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to be handled expensively and lengthily from lighters. Furthermore, in ante-bellum days, navigation had been made impossible by the ice from approximately the middle of October to the middle of May, although under stress of the war powerful ice-breakers have kept the port open until the middle of December. Bulwarked by photographs, intimate and detailed descriptions clothe these salient, romantic facts in the texture of reality. Aren't they romantic? Then the vodka curse and the strangely cleansing effect of the war on the vodka habit; the enthusiastic, naïve curiosity of the northern peasants; the restlessness of the Russian consumer under the exploitation of German merchants before the war (Mr. Lethbridge is too good an Englishman for us not to watch sharp here); the intertwining of religious traditions and superstitions and generous impulses in all the moujiks' activity and their yearly pilgrimage to the Solovetz monastery in the far northeast; the pictures of mobilization at Omsk and Semipalatinsk; the mood of "Nichevo" ("it doesn't matter")—one can select facts at random, and safely submit that they stir the sluggish current of interest into sharper flowings. "The New Russia" is full of them.

Mr. Lethbridge wrote his book with a purpose. He wanted to show the commercial opportunities of north central Russia and bring to British merchants some inkling of the rich markets of Siberia, so long neglected by them to the advantage of their German competitors. He expatiates on the natural resources of that country lying around the reaches of the Dwina, the Vichegda and the Petchorg rivers, and he grows warm in espousing the cause of a railroad from Archangel to Verchutorie in the Urals. Along that track he sees prosperous villages spring up, fed by the grain of the east and the timber and oil of the north. Under these exploitation terms I find vanishing forever the childhood notion of a Russian north of wolves, frozen tundra and picturesque political exiles who really are quite comfortable in Archangel and Berezof (remembered for Prince Mechnikoff and General Layoukin) and sit talking idly all day in the cafés. Yet all is not lost; the peasant himself retains his ancient glamour, and a new Russian north of color and flowers and magic greens arises, with sharp white churches springing into lovely relief against a quickened sky-line. Although Mr. Lethbridge was thinking of the lifting of the blight of vodka by the war and the good will that will germinate because of the same catastrophe between English and Russian traders, he really has a much better reason for calling his book "The New Russia."

In form, it is the conventional and gossipy travel book, and for style a single example suffices: "For the major portion of the year it [the White Sea] is inaccessible and even during the summer the cruelest gales render navigation difficult and dangerous. And hence it is that the White Sea littoral is also almost a *terra incognita* and its presumptive savagery has not encouraged the cult of the tourist. Yet, as we found, it has much to offer: wonderful scenery, quaint customs and quite the prettiest girls throughout the length and breadth of the Russian Empire." This is like a breeze from another age. Crude, honest, matter-of-fact, it suggests the quaint turgidness of those early Victorian exploration books about Africa. It is bashful of fine writing, yet with a certain clumsy sincerity it tries to picture the sparkling joyousness of the particularly fine, unforgettable landscapes.

Plodding in style and sterile in idea, "The New Russia," nevertheless, doesn't interest merely by its valiant grip on the reality of facts. It also constitutes an admirable revelation—unconscious, and therefore the more accurate—of the mind of the colonizing Englishman, the kind that has subdued to civilized outposts the fastnesses of the world. Mr. Lethbridge's intellect snuggles warmly under the blankets of the true English tradition, which finds its ablest exponent in the massive Lecky. He may not say so specifically, but he utterly believes in the constitution, roast beef, the Established Church, country gentlemen and Britannia Rules the Waves. It is not that he is optimistic about spreading civilization; the assumption that a commercialized and industrialized peasant Russia is the inevitable *summum bonum* is so deep and so fundamental in him that he can afford to pay a high tribute to the naïve picturesqueness which is already scarred and seared by the Siberian factory towns. As the older philosophers believed that if only they might get their system established, truth would in some mysterious way inhere in it, so Mr. Lethbridge instinctively believes that if only "natural resources" may be developed, then human happiness will somehow accompany the process as an inevitable by-product. We are just beginning to see how tremendous a faith this really is, and we can only marvel when Mr. Lethbridge calmly writes of "agitators" in Russia: "they are blatantly mischievous and no one can blame any administrative measures of which they make themselves the victims. Prating of the rights of the individual and of the injustice of governments, they make it their life's mission to sow discord, stir up discontent and incite to violence. They stand for the negation of every moral principle framed by religion, let

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alone ethics, since the creation of man, clothing this negation in the garment of hypocritical 'Comradeship.'" Later in his book he describes the ugly industrial "mushroom" towns of the Urals and deprecates the selfishness and soddenness of the machine workers as contrasted with the agricultural peasants. It is not a pretty picture, but Mr. Lethbridge's faith never wavers. He doesn't seem to share misgivings himself, but he is likely to awaken in some of his readers those to which Mr. Stephen Graham has bequeathed such eloquent voice.

H. S.

# Paul Elmer More

*Aristocracy and Justice, by Paul Elmer More. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. $1.50 net.*

THE author of "Aristocracy and Justice" is more than an essayist, more than a critic. He is an American institution, the ablest spokesman for the idealism of our intellectual plutocracy. If his books are not read, at least his ideas are thought, and if our plutocracy has become too timid in the face of a growling Demos to express itself so uncompromisingly, at least it continues to act just as if it had this social and moral philosophy which Mr. More expounds.

Human life, says Mr. More, is a very primitive thing, prone without control to degenerate into savagery. In preventing society from crumbling beneath the aggressive passions of the present, artificial institutions are required to curb the restive and self-seeking nature of man. These institutions make up civilization, and property is its bulwark. In the struggle for life and goods, the strong and cruel will conquer, and nature will not gainsay their irrational victory. Order requires that a controlling power over will and appetite be placed somewhere. Man must recognize nature's rigid hierarchy and subordination of her creatures, but sublimate it into justice, which is right distribution of power and privilege. Society must seek justice after the pattern of the moral individual soul, in which the reason and feelings are reconciled. The strong must have the privilege of imposing their will upon those who are inferior to them, but only in a way that at once satisfies the distinctions of reason among the superior, and does not outrage the feelings of the inferior. This is social justice, and its operation requires a natural aristocracy. This natural aristocracy will be found in the class whose views are broadened by the inherited possession of privilege and honors. In a democracy inherited wealth replaces aristocracy. Property is the symbol and instrument of these privileges, and is therefore the very foundation of society. The dollar must always be more than the man and the right to property more sacred than the right to life.

A natural aristocracy is spiritually supported through the exercise of the moral imagination working in all classes of society. This moral imagination which accepts the powerful everywhere as the good and wise, if an illusion, is a most pleasing and beneficent one, for it makes power gentle and obedience liberal and harmonizes the different shades of life. Church and university are ever the strongest stimulators of this imagination, the strongest reactionaries against innovations which threaten the intrenched rights of property, and this not because of greed of possession, but because the safety and usefulness of institutions is bound up with the inviolability of property by which a leisure class, by character destined more specifically to be the creators and transmitters of the world's intellectual and spiritual heritage, retains its stability and its capacity for governing the masses.

That training of the disciplined mind by which a natural aristocracy cultivates this heritage is one of the most important tasks of society. Only the liberal studies—Greek, Latin, philosophy, mathematics—perform this office of discipline. On these the college must concentrate. Any attempt to make education an industrial social training for the masses stabs deep at the vitals of society. The true aim of a state is to make possible the high friendship of those who have raised themselves to a vision of the supreme good. To care for mediocrity is to destroy that just inequality of Nature, and open the gates to warring class-passions and the revolt of the unfit.

To the neglect of these principles, Mr. More attributes our present discontents. Under the rising tide of democracy, our intellectual plutocrats themselves have faltered and paled. A new morality has arisen which renounces personal responsibility in favor of social responsibility. We have become enfeebled by humanitarianism. We give full liberty to human nature to follow its own impulsive desire of expansion. Sympathy in place of justice saps the fibre of character and gives free rein to egoistic impulses. The release of the inhibitions of reason and conscience have plunged us into the savagery of a world war. The envious many have broken down the securities of property rights, and imperiled social order. Even Mr. Rockefeller and the New York *Sun* have come to defending the right to work, rather than the inalienable right of property. In the new social ideals the intellectual class has been guilty of a moral treason. Unless it returns to the eternal principles of justice, restoring harmony in the individual breast and a just and contented subordination in society, our civilization is doomed.

Such a philosophy is, of course, its own best self-satirization. A piece of *a priori* reasoning in the classic style, it is a mere apologia for the modern legal reactionary. The calm of Mr. More's style cannot keep the claws of class-exploitation from showing through.

Granting the power of his classic social analysis, he makes two gratuitous assumptions. One assumption, that modern America, before it was sapped by the new morality, was a Platonic Republic, betrays the extent of his inductive studies. The other is that the only choice is between a contented plutocracy and anarchy.

His misunderstanding of modern radicalism is complete. His major premises are exactly those of that modern social and psychological science which he so deplores, and of the modern pragmatic philosophy. Any book of statistics or sociological survey would show him curves of distribution which are nothing more or less than his "inequality of nature" made graphic and explicit. And any modern philosopher of force from Nietzsche to Dewey will show him our full appreciation of the philosophy of will-to-power. It is not in his premises but in his conclusions that Mr. More is flatly out of touch with the driving and creative thought of the day. He assumes the very question he ought to prove—that a "natural aristocracy" of inherited wealth does produce in society that harmony of reason and emotion which is justice. He has canonized the particular denouement of a non-moral struggle of group wills-to-power which our time most passionately rebels against, and which has been most productive of disorder and intellectual chaos—the rule of an industrial plutocracy.

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For what we have learned in our American experience is that property rights cannot be put above human rights unless humanity itself becomes property. Mr. More's ideal is a slave-society, as the Greek state to which he always reverts was a slave-state. Any society which works towards such a social goal works towards a society based on slavery or on serfdom.

What Mr. More sees as a sentimental humanitarianism is really a growing general disinclination to live longer in a semi-servile society. What he sees as the materializing of life is rather a determined effort to understand the forces and goods of nature so that they may become the tools of a genuine all-nourishing humanism such as has never before been remotely possible in the world.

To have missed all this, and to have seen the modern democratic movement as merely an invidious mob-desire to level life to mediocrity or as the mere drift of sentiment, is to have betrayed a dearth of imagination far more sinister than that want of the Burkian reverence for the established which Mr. More so much deplores in us. This continuing to live in the America of 1915 among the political and moral problems of an Attic Deme would be comic if it were not pathetic. Mr. More is ignorant of the fact that we live in a new age of surplus value, economic and spiritual. The kernel of our problems is the use of that surplus energy. It is this changed orientation that has destroyed the old antithesis. Equilibrium can no longer be the ideal. We find that we are not dealing with economic or social forces which can be balanced against each other, and society and the individual reduced to a harmonious and static design. Our psychology shows us life not as an arrangement of emotions, sensations, judgments, which can be treated kaleidoscopically to produce certain effects of character. We see life now rather as an incalculable and importunate stream of desire, which rises in the adult to a will-to-power. The problem of the soul becomes the direction of this desire and energy into creative channels, not its suppression or even control by that reason which is so often a mere disguise of another and more acceptable desire. In such a world, personality becomes more desirable than character, creative expressiveness than self-control, coöperation than justice, social freedom than rights. Mr. More's ethics is the ethics of a parsimonious world. It has no place in a world of surplus energy or of possible surplus energy. Only by repressing this energy, only by turning it back to its latent state, could the modern world be put back to the tight little Greek frame in which Mr. More and his friends would find themselves most at home and their rights and privileges least disturbed. And that would mean a serfdom, of both person and group, for which the time is too late.

The social purpose no longer means the sentimentality of a social conscience which is mere sympathy, but work towards a creative, imaginative and inter-stimulating community life, in which personality and expressiveness shall flourish as they cannot flourish under present institutions. The enterprises which seem to the conservative mere enervating fads and fancies are experimental means towards this end. This readjustment, this progressive re-shaping, is the work of the modern radical movements. It is an audacious and Promethean task, as far as possible removed from drift or vagueness. At its lowest, it stems "the amorous and vehement drift of man's herd to hell." At its best, it tones up society, giving to great masses vigor, skill and outlook, endowing institutions with new purpose, adjusting them to the best wills and powers of the men and women affected by them. Industrial education, town-

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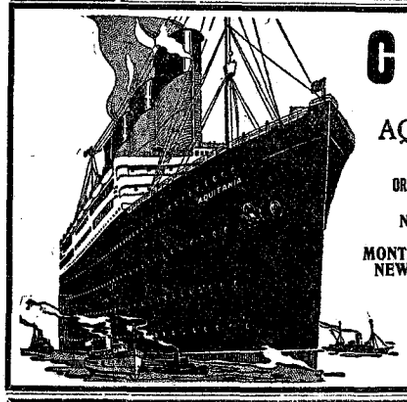

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planning, labor legislation, social insurance and the rest are not ends in themselves, but means of social technique toward this great social end.

Mr. More met this century in its childish years, and he has neglected to observe its growing up. His misinterpretation of the modern spirit which is so bold in desire to substitute mastery for drift betrays either an ignorance or a callousness. It is probably both, for his philosophy was hammered together in its perfect form fifteen years ago, and no word of the movement of men and minds has since penetrated his studied isolation. It is not only an insensitiveness that he betrays, but since the modern political and social vision is so largely an aesthetic one, a genuine anesthesia. His narrow preoccupation with the Greek classics has prevented him from seeing the color and forms of that sociological world which men are now eagerly studying and in which they seem to find all the imaginative lift and intellectual discipline which their fathers got from the classics. If he looked about the world, he would find his orthodox classical scholars the stalest and most stagnant of men, their fire passed to pragmatic philosophers or the realistic publicists. He would find Gilbert Murray, the greatest Greek scholar of his age, gone with all his students over into the sociological camp, delving into mana and initiation ceremonies and primitive magic in order to explain his Greek tragedy, or else making the abhorrent classical compromise by popularizing Euripides in English verse. One wonders of what classics and of what discipline Mr. More is talking when his greatest scholars, his natural aristocracy, are finding his lovely archaic poems a tangled tissue of social myth rather than the naïve outpourings of the human heart.

The world has grown too wide and too adventurous for Mr. More's tight little categories. We are becoming too conscious of vast economic forces which control the destinies of society. We cannot believe that our salvation lies in the resolution of Mr. More and his anxious friends to put a harsh stop to those dangerous modern ideas that are undermining the sober virility of our minds.

RANDOLPH BOURNE.

## The Dawn of California

*The Gray Dawn, by Stewart Edward White. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.35.*

RED-BLOODED California of 1855 is the setting for the story of Milton and Nan Keith. In the man's world of which he had become a part, Milton Keith is called upon to prosecute, as assistant district attorney, a leading gambler and a formidable politician. All possible pressure is used to weaken him. He is driven to become a member of the Vigilantes. He has made many enemies by this time; he has fallen into the hands of a scheming woman and has submitted to blackmail, but has later refused to make further payments. His wife fails to understand his new attitude, his desertion of his class as she calls it, and turns from him. At each crisis, disaster is averted by Patsy Sherwood, the wife of another prominent gambler. She protects Milton from the woman; she rescues Nan from danger; she brings about the reconciliation with which the book closes. The story is not, however, the main interest. Mr. White has made the reader feel the intense excitement of the time. He has made him see clearly the strong yet quaint characters, the quiet severity of the Vigilantes, the power of the ruling classes. The life of the period is vividly portrayed. Were it not for evidences of haste in plot and style, this would rank with Mr. White's best stories.

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